

# Africa Trends

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## Editor's Note

Greetings from the Africa Trends editorial team in 2014!

As Africa Trends enters the third year of publication, it will now be a quarterly newsletter. We hope to add several new features to it as we go along. We hope to have your continued support and cooperation in this endeavour.

This issue carries two commentaries, a viewpoint and a book review. In her commentary on the crisis in the Central African Republic, Divita Shandilya makes a case for a UN peacekeeping force considering the magnitude of violence and the large number of refugees thereof. Saurabh Mishra analyses the pattern of voting of countries in Africa on the UNHRC Resolution on Sri Lanka that invoked external actors to play a role in the investigation of alleged war crimes committed during the final stages of the civil war in 2009. George Thomas suggests that the way forward in the restive South Sudan is to have an inclusive government with the representation of all tribes and strengthening institutions that can preserve the rule of law. The perennial concerns regarding development of the 'dark continent' have been addressed in a recent book by Greg Mills and Jeffrey Herbst, *Africa's Third Liberation: The New Search for Prosperity and Jobs* (2012). Nachiket Khadkiwala has reviewed this book that foretells the way for Africa's "third liberation."

The new year commenced in Africa with continuation of some old conflicts. Attempts to broker peace among the contending groups in South Sudan, Central African Republic (CAR), Mozambique, and the Gedo region in Somalia have proved unsuccessful. Kenya and Ethiopia have called on parties in South Sudan to resume dialogue. They have expressed interest in stabilizing Somalia under the aegis of the IGAD. As the UN prepares to dispatch a peacekeeping mission to the CAR, the magnitude of the refugee problem there worsens, as also in the Mozambique. Efforts are underway in Mali, Kenya and Nigeria to prevent violent groups from creating disturbances.

In an attempt at taking its relationship with Uganda further, India's Hero Motorcorp has expressed interest in commencing manufacturing of motor cycles in Uganda through its current distributor, Astrac Motors. This is likely to generate 1500 jobs over the next three to four years. Zambia has invited Indian private sector and multinational companies to invest and improve the industrial relations between India and Africa. Botswana has expressed interest in developing a strategic partnership with India, including more investments from India. This could be mutually beneficial as Botswana is a member of the Southern African Customs Union (SAKU).

China's engagement with Africa proceeds along several lines. Swakop Uranium, a mining company owned by the China General Nuclear Power Company is supporting students from Namibia to undertake courses in mining engineering and chemistry. China and Liberia have signed an Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement, which is also likely to benefit Liberia's defence industry. Another project to facilitate easy trade between China and Tanzania is also on the anvil, while Uganda and Seychelles woo China to boost their tourism industry.

We hope you will find this an interesting read.

## Cover Story

### CRISIS IN CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

The UN resolution comes not a moment too soon but the actual deployment of troops is still a few months away as modalities about the troop contributing nations and funding are yet to be figured out. The crisis is of a disturbing magnitude but a swift and effective response may still pull the country back from the verge of complete collapse.

**DIVITA SHANDILYA\***

The Security Council recently passed a resolution authorising the deployment of a peacekeeping force to the war torn Central African Republic (CAR). The resolution follows a report submitted to the council by the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon in which he recommended a peacekeeping operation with a robust mandate and outlined a six-point plan for the rapid deployment of at least 3,000 peacekeeping troops to provide reinforcements to the 6,000 African Union soldiers already present in the country under the African led International Support Mission to the CAR (MISCA).<sup>1</sup>

The UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in CAR (MINUSCA) will be launched on 15 September, 2014 and has a mandate that will initially last till 30 April, 2015. The mission aims to protect civilians, support disarmament and ensure the safe delivery of humanitarian aid.<sup>2</sup> Under the resolution, the African Union troops will be integrated into the force as formal UN peacekeepers. In addition to MISCA, France has already sent 2,000 troops to its former colony under operation Sangaris and the European Union is also set to deploy a 1,000 strong military force by the end of this month.<sup>3</sup>

The recent bout of violence broke out in December 2013 when a pro-Christian militia, anti-Balaka (anti- machete) started retributive attacks against Muslims as a response to the activities of the rebel outfit, Seleka. The Seleka is a predominantly Muslim rebel coalition which overthrew President Bozizé in March 2013, after a power sharing agreement between the rebel groups and Bozizé's government broke down, and installed Michel Djotodia as the first Muslim President of the majority Christian state. Though Djotodia disbanded the Seleka soon after he assumed office, the rebels refused to disarm, becoming even more brutal as they veered out of government control and started targeting Christians and vandalising and burning entire villages.<sup>4</sup>

The CAR has a long history of political instability. After years of successive authoritarian regimes, the first multi-party democratic elections were held in the country in 1993, over three decades after independence. Ange-Félix Patassé came to power following the elections but was overthrown in 2003 by General Francois Bozizé. Bozizé himself won the democratic election in 2005 which

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was followed by a re-election in 2011. The 2011 election, however, was widely considered fraudulent and his corrupt and autocratic rule led to the coming together of rebel groups to form the Seleka (which means the “alliance” in the local language).

The political movement which started in opposition to Bozizé’s government has become increasingly religious in nature. Nearly all the Seleka are Muslim and it is believed that they include Muslim mercenaries from Chad and the Janjaweed from Sudan’s Darfur region in their ranks. The Christian vigilante militias have in turn started committing atrocities against the Muslims. In recent months, the violence against Muslims has continued unabated and the Muslim population in CAR has severely depleted, with thousands having been killed or displaced and forced to flee to neighbouring countries. The ferocity of the violence against the Muslims, who formed 15% of the CAR’s population until a year ago, is made stark by a UN report which says that the 130,000 to 145,000 strong Muslim population of the country’s capital, Bangui has been reduced to only 900 since fighting renewed in December.<sup>5</sup>

As revenge attacks against Muslims continue to become more aggressive, fears of the outbreak of genocide are being expressed by international agencies. Amnesty International has termed the violence as “ethnic cleansing.” The UN has also sent an investigation team to the CAR with the mission of verifying whether there is a possibility of genocide in the war ravaged country.<sup>6</sup>

However, there are others who feel that it would be premature and inaccurate to deem the situation as genocide. Catherine Samba-Panza, the new President of CAR, who was elected by a National Transitional Council (NTC) after Djotodia resigned in January, 2014, has categorically termed the conflict as a “community conflict with religious aspects” and said that CAR does not have an ethnic problem as a particular ethnic group was not being killed.<sup>7</sup> Ban Ki-moon seemed to echo her sentiment when he said in a statement that the violence in CAR was not a result of religious conflict but was caused by religious and ethnic affiliations being manipulated for political purposes.<sup>8</sup>

Economic and social deprivation along with denial of political privileges has plagued the country for long, deepening ethnic fissures and fuelling tensions between communities. The citizens remain poor and have little access to medical services and education despite the fact that the CAR is rich in natural resources and minerals such as gold and diamond. The weak social fabric of the country and unstable economic and political institutions made it easier to polarise the country. After the government was overthrown in 2013, the collapse of state institutions accelerated and led to a complete breakdown of the social structure.

**...more than half of the population of the capital city of Bangui has been displaced, out of which nearly 60 per cent are children.**

While the nature and causes of conflict continue to be debated, the scale and severity of the violence has led to the precipitation of a humanitarian and food crisis in one of the world’s poorest countries. The UN has warned of an acute food crisis as it estimates that over one million people are in need of immediate food aid. Meanwhile, the refugee crisis is deepening as almost one million people have fled their homes since the outbreak of violence. According to a recent report from

UNHCR, more than half of the population of the capital city of Bangui has been displaced, out of which nearly 60 per cent are children. With many of the refugees fleeing to Chad and Cameroon, the CAR’s two neighbours are feeling the pressure of providing refugees with relief camps equipped with basic amenities such as food and water. The conflict has also led to unprecedented levels of violence against children. Children are not only being targeted in vicious revenge attacks but have also been recruited by the armed militias in large numbers.<sup>9</sup>

With the inception of a new interim government, the international community has an opportunity to rally and coordinate its response to the crisis. Catherine Samba-Panza, who was previously the mayor of Bangui, is heading the interim government which has been given a year to stabilise the situation. While she has shown resolve and has taken a strong stand against the Christian militias saying that she would “go to war” against the anti-Balaka who had lost their sense of mission, she has also acknowledged that without the support of the international community, the government would not be able to restore order in the country as they lack the resources to stabilize the security situation and address the humanitarian concerns at the same time.<sup>10</sup>

**... without the support of the international community, the government would not be able to restore order in the country...**

MISCA has repeatedly been described as inadequate as it simply does not have enough troops on the ground. Since Chad’s decision earlier this month to withdraw its 850 troops from MISCA amidst allegations of human right violations by the Chadian troops and suspicion that the Chadian contingent is allied with the Seleka rebels, the force has been weakened further. Additionally, the head of MISCA has conveyed that the mission faces great shortcomings due to limited logistical support, outdated communications equipment and insubstantial airlift capacity.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, there is a need to expand the mission to keep up with the worsening situation and also to address the functional limitations of the force.

The UN resolution comes not a moment too soon but the actual deployment of troops is still a few months away as modalities about the troop contributing nations and funding are yet to be figured out. In the meantime, international organisations should work to strengthen the peacekeeping forces already present on the ground and step up their humanitarian aid, in keeping with the urgency of the situation. The crisis is of a disturbing magnitude but a swift and effective response may still pull the country back from the verge of complete collapse.

<sup>1</sup> “UN proposes peacekeeping force in Central African Republic”, *Time World*, March 03, 2014 at <http://world.time.com/2014/03/03/u-n-proposes-peacekeeping-force-in-central-african-republic/>

<sup>2</sup> “UN approves new CAR Peacekeeping Force”, *Voice of America News*, April 10, 2014 at <http://www.voanews.com/content/un-to-authorize-new-peacekeeping-force-for-car/1890197.html>

<sup>3</sup> “UN secretary-general presents 6- point plan to deal with CAR crisis”, *United Press International*, Feb 21, 2014 at <http://www.upi.com/blog/2014/02/21/UN-secretary-general-presents-6-point-plan-to-deal-with-CAR-crisis/4371392995469/>

<sup>4</sup> “Unspeakable horrors in a country on the verge of genocide”, *The Guardian*, November 22, 2013 at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/22/central-african-republic-verge-of-genocide>

<sup>5</sup> “Christian militias take bloody revenge on Muslims in Central African Republic”, *The Guardian*, March 10, 2014 at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/10/central-african-republic-christian-militias-revenge>

<sup>6</sup> “UN launches probe into human rights violations in Central African Republic”, *Deutsche Welle*, March 10, 2014 at <http://www.dw.de/un-launches-probe-into-human-rights-violations-in-central-african-republic/a-17485596>

<sup>7</sup> “Can Catherine Samba-Panza save the Central African Republic?”, *The Guardian*, March 02, 2014 at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/02/catherine-samba-panza-central-african-republic>

<sup>8</sup> “Central African Republic: Ban meets religious leaders, urges support for efforts to unite communities”, *UN News Centre*, March 13, 2014 at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=47351&Cr=central+african+republic&Cr1=#.Uyww5qiSzWh>

- <sup>9</sup> “Nearly a million flee violence in Central African Republic”, *CNN Africa*, January 08, 2014 at <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/01/06/world/africa/central-african-republic-violence/>
- <sup>10</sup> “UN recommends sending more troops to Central African Republic”, *Deutsche Welle*, March 03, 2014 at <http://www.dw.de/un-recommends-sending-more-troops-to-central-african-republic/a-17470487>
- <sup>11</sup> “World comes together to fund CAR peace keeping mission”, *Voice of America*, February 01, 2014 at <http://www.voanews.com/content/world-comes-together-to-fund-car-peacekeeping-mission/1842394.html>



## Commentary

### AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND THE UNHRC RESOLUTION ON SRI LANKA

The vote reflected a geopolitical contest wherein the West still has considerable influence and the Chinese influence is on the rise. The discussion and the voting pattern of the African countries also revealed their deep sense of resentment at the West for using the issue of human rights as an excuse against them.

**SAURABH MISHRA\***

The United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) adopted a resolution on Reconciliation, Accountability and Human Rights in Sri Lanka on March 27, 2014. The resolution mandated, among other things, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to: a) monitor the human rights situation in Sri Lanka and to continue to assess progress on relevant national processes; b) to undertake a comprehensive investigation into alleged serious violations and abuses of human rights and related crimes by both parties in Sri Lanka during the period covered by the Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission, and to establish the facts and circumstances of such alleged violations and of the crimes perpetrated with a view to avoiding impunity and ensuring accountability, with assistance from relevant experts and special procedures mandate holders. Twenty-three member countries, out of the total 47 members of the UNHRC, voted for the resolution co-sponsored by 41 countries under the leadership of the United States (US) and the United Kingdom (UK). Twelve members abstained and an equal number voted against the resolution.

It is interesting to see how the African countries voted on this resolution. The Sri Lankan government had launched a massive military operation against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in the primarily Tamil inhabited northern part of the country. According to a UN report, about 40,000 people were estimated to have been killed in the final phase of the military operations.<sup>1</sup> Such incidents have been reported in many African countries in the past. Several cases against African countries are still pending in international human rights institutions. The African countries, in general, find themselves to be victims of Western discrimination against them under the pretext of human rights violations.

**The African countries, in general, find themselves to be victims of Western discrimination ...**

Among the African countries voting on the resolution, Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone voted for the motion. Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Gabon, Namibia, Morocco and South Africa abstained while Algeria, Congo, Kenya and Maldives voted against the resolution. Given the size of the two African countries that voted for the resolution, it is interesting to note that the relatively larger African countries in terms of area and economy did not go against Sri Lanka. Ivory Coast and

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Sierra Leone are small countries dependent on the Western and the UN aid. They can hardly afford going against them. The other reason for their 'yes' vote can be their recent experience of large scale internal violence and human rights violations which they, after attaining relative normalcy, want to fight against. Sierra Leone felt that its experience:

...highlighted the importance of addressing accountability and reconciliation was essential for the country (Sri Lanka) to rebuild itself. In the absence of a domestic credible investigation and an apparent lack of political will by the Government, an international mechanism was needed.<sup>2</sup>

South Africa explained that it had abstained because it wants to encourage Sri Lanka to implement the recommendations made by the Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission. Although it chose to abstain from voting for the resolution, it urged Sri Lanka to speedily agree on a process allowing for a meaningful political mechanism that brings about a constitution acceptable to all Sri Lankans. Morocco, avoiding any extreme step, expressed concerns about humanitarian law, land rights, and victims. It encouraged Sri Lanka to pursue its dialogue with the High Commissioner and to consider offers for technical assistance. It also appreciated Sri Lanka for the restoration of civil administration and conduction of elections in its affected northern province. Namibia said that "the international community should assist Sri Lanka in her continued efforts to overcome difficulties to pursue the policy of national reconciliation, rehabilitation, and resettlement of those who were affected by the conflict, as well as the reconstruction of the country".<sup>3</sup>

Maldives explained its negative vote by citing the respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity. It felt that Sri Lanka's cooperation with the UN was quite constructive and appreciable. It also warned against any initiative by the international community against Sri Lanka that may hinder reconciliation. Algeria said that the Sri Lankan government's efforts for reconciliation have ended a destructive conflict and that efforts had been made to ensure the rights of religious and ethnic minorities. However, despite its vote against the resolution, Algeria advised Sri Lanka not to forget the importance of dialogue and reparations.

Some other African countries who participated in the discussions were Egypt, Sudan, South Sudan, Zimbabwe, Uganda and Nigeria. None of them was openly for the resolution but some of them were definitely against. Both Sudan and Zimbabwe felt that an international inquiry mechanism to further investigate alleged violations in Sri Lanka would mean exceeding the mandate of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.<sup>4</sup> Most of the non-member African countries were of the opinion that Sri Lanka has commendably done well towards reconciliation, although more efforts are required to be made domestically to achieve it.

**...the position taken by the African countries within and outside the UNHCR reveals the shades of opinion about human rights issues and the manner in which they are handled by the international community and institutions.**

An analysis of the position taken by the African countries within and outside the UNHCR reveals the shades of opinion about human rights issues and the manner in which they are handled by the international community and institutions. The relatively larger African countries have tried to balance between the West and the Rest, as powerful UNHRC member countries like China, Russia and also politically important member countries like Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, UAE, Cuba and Vietnam were against the resolution. The presence of Algeria, Congo, Kenya and Maldives in

the 'no' camp reflects their deep concerns regarding external interference in the human rights issues of a sovereign country. At least two of these countries have also been recently accused of

having bad human rights records by the international community and a number of cases in the International Criminal Court (ICC) are still pending. The internationally most contentious human rights trial case in the ICC is against Uhuru Kenyatta, the current president of Kenya. It was obvious for Kenya to vote against the resolution reasserting its position of non-interference in domestic affairs of sovereign states and raising voice against victimisation of Africa in the name of human rights.

The list of all the UNHRC member countries who voted 'yes' largely consists of countries needing Western 'friendship', with the exception of Brazil that has too good a relationship with Sri Lanka to jeopardise by voting in favour of the resolution. The full list of abstentions is remarkable and includes Ethiopia, Indonesia, Japan, South Africa, India and Philippines – all countries that need to maintain a balance between the West and the Rest to ensure stability for their sustainable growth and security. The most important is the third list of all the 'no' votaries in the Council, pooling countries with allegedly poor human rights records and the non-Western powers like China and Russia who are challenging the West on several fronts. The presence of two powerful permanent members of the UN Security Council and militarily and economically strong powers, who have generally good relations with the African states, in the 'no' camp was also one of the reasons for the African countries not rallying into the Western camp on the matter of the Sri Lankan resolution. Due to the correlated factors of good China-Sri Lanka relations;<sup>5</sup> the efforts of the African countries to develop good relations with China; and the Sri Lankan endeavour to develop friendly relations with the African countries in the Indian Ocean and Eastern Africa; the African countries with moderate human rights records abstained within the UNHCR.<sup>6</sup> Those with a poor record of the same, according to the UN, voted against the resolution.

The rationale and perceptions of the countries varied according to their own interests, domestic considerations and understanding of the current world affairs. China and Russia were also important factors influencing the vote of the African countries. The vote reflected a geopolitical contest wherein the West still has considerable influence and the Chinese influence is on the rise. The discussion and the voting pattern of the African countries also revealed their deep sense of resentment at the West for using the issue of human rights as an excuse against them.

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<sup>1</sup> "UN approves Sri Lanka war crimes inquiry", *Al Jazeera*, March 27, 2014, at <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/southasia/2014/03/un-approves-sri-lanka-war-crimes-inquiry-201432773150513279.html>

<sup>2</sup> "Human Rights Council discusses reports on Mali, Central African Republic and Sri Lanka", *The United Nations Office at Geneva*, March 26, 2014, at [http://www.unog.ch/unog/website/news\\_media.nsf/%28httpNewsByYear\\_en%29/D70FA14776A83C8AC1257CA70041023B?OpenDocument](http://www.unog.ch/unog/website/news_media.nsf/%28httpNewsByYear_en%29/D70FA14776A83C8AC1257CA70041023B?OpenDocument)

<sup>3</sup> "Countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America express their support to Sri Lanka's efforts at achieving national reconciliation", *Permanent Mission of Sri Lanka to the UN (Geneva)*, March 30, 2014, at <http://www.lankamission.org/index.php/human-rights-humanitarian-affairs/867-countries-in-asia-africa-and-latin-america-express-their-support-to-sri-lanka-s-efforts-at-achieving-national-reconciliation-2>

<sup>4</sup> "Human Rights Council discusses reports on Mali, Central African Republic and Sri Lanka", *The United Nations Office at Geneva*, March 26, 2014, at [http://www.unog.ch/unog/website/news\\_media.nsf/%28httpNewsByYear\\_en%29/D70FA14776A83C8AC1257CA70041023B?OpenDocument](http://www.unog.ch/unog/website/news_media.nsf/%28httpNewsByYear_en%29/D70FA14776A83C8AC1257CA70041023B?OpenDocument)

<sup>5</sup> Note: China had provided arms to the Sri Lankan government to fight against the LTTE. The Chinese have also invested hugely in the development of infrastructure in Sri Lanka.

<sup>6</sup> Note: These factors tend to pull all the involved actors to come closer.

# Viewpoint

## A FRACTURED PEACE

Achieving a lasting and successful peace would involve addressing the root causes of the tension and a commitment to keeping peace. The world is looking to see how the youngest nation can prove that rebel movements can not only win freedom, but also sustain it.

**GEORGE THOMAS\***

As South Sudan enters the third round of peace talks in Addis Ababa the prospect of arriving at a full and final peace agreement remains suspect. Achieving a lasting and successful peace would involve addressing the root causes of the tension and a commitment to keeping peace.

### Creation of South Sudan

The freedom bells that rang out on July 9, 2011 heralded the creation of a new state of South Sudan. Born of a bifurcation of Sudan, the long road to freedom was bloody, involving two civil wars lasting more than three decades. Unlike the northern areas of Sudan that are dominated by Arab Muslims the southern region is far more heterogeneous comprising of tribes of various ethnicities: the two major groups being the Dinka's and the Nuers, together constituting close to 57 per cent of the population<sup>1</sup>, with the remaining 13 tribes comprising 43 per cent. Thus mobilizing these different viewpoints towards a common purpose was itself a gargantuan task. The conflicting approaches were evident in the difference of opinion between John Garang the leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and Dr Reik Machar, the former Vice President. While Garang argued for a unified South Sudan, the latter for self-determination of South Sudan. Dr Machar split in 1991 creating a splinter group- the SPLA - Nasir group - and also orchestrated the Bor massacre in 1991 resulting in the death of 2,000 civilians. Dr Machar later received support from the Sudanese government and in 1997 signed a deal with Khartoum becoming the assistant to President Bashir.<sup>2</sup>

**Freedom from the oppression of the government of Sudan was to herald a new era of peace and security. However the dream was short lived.**

However with the demands for freedom and self-governance growing louder and louder, the Sudanese government conceded, resulting in the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005. The goal of freedom was accomplished with the referendum, a reflection of the definitive will and desire of the populace, witnessing close to 99 percent in favour of independence. Freedom from the oppression of the government of Sudan was to herald a new era of peace and security. However the dream was short lived. Tensions on many fronts

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continued unabated. Oil, the heart of Sudan's economy, continued to be a flashpoint between the two countries. However more important and threatening was the internal conflict.

Although the Juba Declaration on Unity and Integrity signed in 2006 sought to incorporate the various warring groups into the SPLM/A was a positive step towards improving solidarity and reducing tension, but it proved inadequate. A more permanent and direct approach towards breaking the cycle of hate and mistrust was imperative. In its absence tribal conflicts continued to define inter-tribal relations. One particularly important conflict was the dispute between the Murle tribes and the other tribes in the region. The 2009 raid which killed three tribal chiefs of the Lon Nuer tribe was proved to be the final spark. What earlier began as a case of cattle stealing turned into a violent clashes with the abduction of women and children. Women were forced to marry their captors and were subjected to sexual violence<sup>3</sup>. Violence escalated to such levels that the Nuer Youth White Army issued a declaration that the only solution was "to remove the Murle tribe from the face of the earth"<sup>4</sup>. Although a peace accord has been signed in May 2012, the peace remains fragile.

### **The Present Conflict**

The conflict which erupted in December 2013 as a political struggle between the president and Dr Machar has left thousands dead and some 870,000 displaced. Failure to fulfil the society's common goals has spiralled into a free for all race for political power.

In April 2013 the president withdrew the powers delegated executive powers from the Dr Machar, without providing any reason. This raised suspicions of a larger cat and mouse game as Dr Machar had declared his intentions to challenge Salva Kiir for the post of president<sup>5</sup>. President Kiir had also issued a decree dissolving the National Reconciliation Committee overseen by Machar. This was alleged to be politically motivated<sup>6</sup>. A source close to the President had stated that it was Vice President Machar who was using the Committee as a political tool against the president as he was not consulted prior to it being placed before the council of ministers<sup>7</sup>. Interestingly, a week after dissolving the process, the president announced the formation of a new committee for national reconciliation<sup>8</sup> to assuage the sentiments of the public.

The President and Dr Machar have also been at opposing ends regarding changes in the draft constitution debated in 2011. Dr Machar wanted a maximum of two five year terms for the president as well as the removal of the clause in the SPLM Constitution which gave the Chairperson the power to nominate five percent members at all levels of the party even in the legislature (National Liberation Congress)<sup>9</sup>. However he was defeated with the President accusing him of "parallelism". He also called for a change of method for voting from a show of hands to a secret ballot, but this resolution was also defeated<sup>10</sup>. He had also questioned the dismissal of the elected Lake State governor by the President. Incidentally the Constitution gives the president the power to sack an elected governor and/or dissolve a state Parliament in the event of a serious crisis that threatens national security and territorial integrity.

The die was cast when in July 2013 President Kiir removed the vice president and other Ministers loyal to him. On December 14 the President called a meeting of the National Liberation Council where Dr Machar accused the President of attempting to disarm the Nuer tribe while the President alleged that Dr Machar had orchestrated a coup attempt. Juba erupted into violence which witnessed targeted ethnic killing. Jongeli and the Unity States fell under the sway of violence. Bor district became an important strategic pawn with forces loyal to Machar taking control. But with the government forces recapturing the district and increased pressure from international

community brought the parties to the drawing table and a ceasefire agreement was signed on January 23, 2014.<sup>11</sup>

The agreement required the parties to cease military action, disengage forces, cease and desist from hostile propaganda while protecting civilians and granting them humanitarian access. The agreement also provided for a monitoring and verification mechanism comprising of civilian and military members. Yet, within a day, violence erupted with both sides accusing the other of violating the ceasefire. The second round of peace talks also did not succeed in bringing peace. The government negotiator Nhial Deng blamed the mediators for involving the seven members who were arrested by the government for orchestrating the coup. The President has also ruled out entering into a power sharing agreement with Dr Machar.

## The Way Forward

**Accountability, transparency and good governance must also be part of the reconciliation campaign...**

As the third round of peace talks gets underway, the chance of a peaceful resolution remains bleak. No lasting peace can be achieved as long as political institutions remain weak and inefficient and when corruption and unemployment further fuel the existing tensions in the region. Rule of law and justice are in shambles. The majority of the police are illiterate and suffer from a serious deficit in capacity, knowledge and skill. They are untrained and are neither able to protect and safeguard the rights of victims on one hand and punish for violation of the laws on the other. All these shortcomings have birthed

a feeling of impunity and a rule of force with 'justice' being meted out through strength, normalizing the commission of violence among the tribes. The main priority has to be to rebuild these institutions. Justice must not only be done but also appear to be done. Accountability, transparency and good governance must also be part of the reconciliation campaign, a requirement highlighted by Dr Machar as well.

The present conflict has seen the tribes opposed on political grounds. A form of responsible and participatory government where all tribes have equal access to, and right to participate to the decision making process is essential. It is imperative to build faith and confidence in the government while replacing the animosity and hatred among the tribes inter se with one of unity in diversity. Economic development of the region is needed to ensure that shortage of resources is not a reason for strife. Sustained development will require an environment of trust and concerted action. Various reports have also indicated that the easy availability of weapons and large number of unemployed youth are a breeding ground for violence. Greater involvement of the youth in development programmes and a transparent and equitable weapons surrender programme, where no tribe is made to feel targeted, is essential.

However the first step has to be a swift and peaceful resolution. The involvement of the seven ministers continues to threaten the success of the third round of talks which has been adjourned till the end of April. With more than 67000 civilians still in overburdened UN peace camps and close to a million displaced persons, the situation is dire. Continuing of hostilities not only impede delivery of humanitarian assistance but also dissuades the international community from staying invested in the peace process. The US and the EU have already threatened sanctions which could worsen the plight of the civilians. The situation has been termed by Oxfam as a "serious risk"<sup>12</sup>. It is paramount that the parties must set aside their differences, as failure would plunge the nation into civil war. The UNMISS, can do precious little in such a doomsday scenario.

The world is looking to see how the youngest nation can prove that rebel movements can not only win freedom, but also sustain it.

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- <sup>1</sup> John A. Akec, "South Sudan: Making sense of December the 15th, start of war - Part 2", *Sudan Tribune*, January 5, 2014, at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article49453>
  - <sup>2</sup> Andrew S. Natsios, "Save South Sudan From Itself", *New York Times*, December 25, 2013, at [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/26/opinion/save-south-sudan-from-itself.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/26/opinion/save-south-sudan-from-itself.html?_r=0)
  - <sup>3</sup> United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), "Incidents of Inter-Communal Violence in Jonglei State", June 2012, at <http://unmiss.unmissions.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=SGtPtDHFvJ0%3D&tabid=4969&language=en-US>
  - <sup>4</sup> "South Sudan youth planning to attack tribe: UN warns", *Media Monitoring Report*, December 12, 2011, at <http://unmiss.unmissions.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=B9gmBicJNU%3D&tabid=3540&language=en-US>
  - <sup>5</sup> "Machar congratulates S. Sudanese on Martyrs Day, decries dictatorship", *Sudan Tribune*, July 31, 2013, at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article47490>
  - <sup>6</sup> Mading Ngor, "South Sudan: What Reconciliation, What Healing? I", *The Huffington Post*, March 12, 2013, at [http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/mading-ngor/south-sudan-what-reconciliation\\_b\\_2834965.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/mading-ngor/south-sudan-what-reconciliation_b_2834965.html)
  - <sup>7</sup> "South Sudan's Kiir withdraws delegated executive powers from VP Machar", *Sudan Tribune*, April 16, 2013, at [http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?iframe&page=imprimable&id\\_article=46237](http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?iframe&page=imprimable&id_article=46237)
  - <sup>8</sup> *Supra*, note 5.
  - <sup>9</sup> Mahmood Mamdani, "South Sudan: No Power-Sharing Without Reform", *New Vision*, February 12, 2014, available at <http://www.newvision.co.ug/news/652467-south-sudan-no-power-sharing-without-reform.html>
  - <sup>10</sup> Yien Lam, "South Sudan: Kiir's Dictatorial Leadership mixed with Tribalism", *SouthSudanNation.com*, March 10, 2014, at <http://www.southsudannation.com/south-sudan-kiirs-dictatorial-leadership-mixed-with-tribalism/>
  - <sup>11</sup> For the text of the agreement see Intergovernmental Authority on Development(IGAD), "Agreement on cessation of hostilities between the Government of Republic of South Sudan, (GRSS) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/ Army (in Opposition) SPLM/ A (in Opposition), available at [http://www.sudantribune.com/IMG/pdf/signed\\_agreement\\_cessation\\_of\\_hostilities\\_.pdf](http://www.sudantribune.com/IMG/pdf/signed_agreement_cessation_of_hostilities_.pdf)
  - <sup>12</sup> "South Sudan peace talks stalled amid worsening crisis", *Mail and Guardian*, April 2, 2014, available at <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-04-02-s-sudan-peacetalks-stalled-amid-worsening-violence>

## Book Review

**Greg Mills and Jeffrey Herbst, *Africa's Third Liberation: The New Search for Prosperity and Jobs***

Penguin Books, 2012, ISBN: 978-0-14-352888-3, 248 pp.

**NACHIKET KHADKIWALA\***

*Africa's Third Liberation: The New Search for Prosperity and Jobs* is a good read for those seeking to get a macro view of the problems of economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa. The authors have organised the book into four thematic sections: the first, offers an optimistic overview of the prospects of economic growth in Africa; in the second, the authors discuss the problems associated with economic development in Africa through selected case studies; the third consists of three chapters that are dedicated to case studies from Central America, Asia and Middle East and the potential lessons Africa can learn from the economic development in these regions; and lastly, the authors attempt to stipulate an 'African Model' for economic development.

The book revolves around the political economy of Africa. In the first liberation the African countries freed themselves from their colonial masters; a second liberation has also been achieved - by most African countries with the exception of some countries like Zimbabwe- by the overthrow of the "strong man" who liberated them from colonial rule. The time has now come for Africa's 'third liberation', which essentially means the unshackling of the political economy that has been constrained by "graft, crony capitalism, rent-seeking, elitism and widening social inequality". Therefore the bane of Africa according to the authors is a political economy that has been constrained by African leaders who, rather than focussing on growth, rely on identity based politics to get elected and are more interested in maintaining patronage networks for sake of regime stability.

According to the book, Africa is poised for future economic growth, provided its politicians get their act together. This optimism is based on the fact that Africa has seen consistent economic growth since the 1990s. Six African countries featured among the top ten fastest growing economies in the decade, 2000-2010. The external trend has been favourable as the commodity boom led by the emerging markets has benefitted the natural resources endowed continent of Africa. Even though Africa lags behind in terms of economic freedom, there has been visible improvement. African countries are increasingly moving towards democracy even though they have not perfected democratic institutions and practices. While there were multi-party elections in only three countries in the 1970s, now more than 40 hold regular elections. Even autocrats like Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe have to face the electorate, although this example highlights the dubious nature of elections in some African countries. Moreover, conflicts that were once a marked feature of Africa have declined from 15 in the 1990s to five from 2000-2010. The continuing conflicts in Africa such as in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Somalia are "hard cases" according to the authors, and there is likely to be no immediate resolution. Hence, Africa has many favourable factors

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going for it, only if its leaders can grab the opportunity by institutionalising economic reforms and pursuing growth oriented policies. High savings and investments can take Africa towards economic growth.

The most fascinating part of the book is the chapter entitled, "The complexities of African Reform". Both the authors demonstrate their deep understanding of the economies of Sub-Saharan Africa. The style of writing demonstrates that the authors are well travelled across the continent. Greg Mills experience as an advisor to various governments of Africa is very visible in this chapter. The many common problems being faced by African political economies include state patronage and populist economic policies. In the "patronage ridden system of government" that characterises many African states, the co-opting of "competing elites" becomes an imperative for the government in order to maintain regime stability and thus economic reforms get sidelined. Populist measures such as the nationalisation of the mining sector in South Africa, the radical yet ill-advised land distribution and indigenisation of foreign property in Zimbabwe hamper economic growth. Hence the authors have been critical of this temptation of the African governments to redistribute wealth rather than encourage economic growth. Although such criticism is debatable, but it is a fact that redistribution versus growth is the classic dilemma of under developed countries that are trying to lift their massive populations out of poverty.

Some country studies in the book are very enlightening and thought provoking. The case of Angola, rightly termed as "the land of irony" by the authors, exemplifies the gloomy contrasts that exist in Africa. The People's Movement for Liberation of Angola (MPLA), despite its Marxist-Leninist leanings presides over a population with high inequality, illustrated by the description of a "swish BMW X6 moving in a sea of street sellers". For a generation that has witnessed the Arab Spring; which has seen Africa's longest serving dictator Colonel Qaddafi fall; the Angolans are well aware that President Jose Eduardo dos Santos is the third longest serving African leader. Angola is a perfect example of an oil rich state ruined by a hegemonic state that distributes wealth through patronage. In the case of Mozambique, the authors give a lucid description of problems associated with development in the third world country by underscoring the difficulties associated with development of the potential tourist destination of Ilha de Mocambique. The government on the one hand wants to attract foreign investment to develop tourism on the island. On the other hand, a fine "balancing act" is required to cater to the interests of local community, local livelihoods based on fisheries and the conservation of environment. In a broader context the book offers an insight into the stark economic reality that is not uniquely African but the universal economic predicament of the developing and under developed world.

Case studies from Central America, Asia and the Middle East are included to provide a comparative framework for analysing African development. The experience of Central America seems to be most relevant in case of Africa, because of their similar history of a colonial past, external interventions and authoritarian rule. While, Middle East development experience may be of relevance for oil-rich African countries, it is not an ideal model due to the authoritarianism (both monarchical and republican) prevalent in the Middle East.

In conclusion the authors call for African model and very rightly stress on transforming the political economy from the elite-driven to a more inclusive economic model based on job creation. There is also a need for Africa to focus on improvement in education both in terms of numbers and quality of education. Africa has 30 per cent of globe's natural resources and 60 per cent of arable land. It has the demographic dividend on its side with one-quarter of the world's under 25 population projected to be from Sub-Saharan Africa by 2025. Hence the political leadership in

Africa has all the right reasons to focus on job creation through economic growth rather than squander away the continent's immense potential for growth and development.

Although the book claims to study the political economy of Africa, and calls for both efficient governance and markets, its focus is largely economy centric. Even though the authors argue that politics in Africa is a constraining factor for economic growth, they fail to critically engage with the politics of the region. The authors fail to recommend any measures for bettering the political system in African countries such that it aids economic development. Some case studies also tend to drift away from the main argument or tend to unnecessarily focus on one issue. For example, in the case of Kenya the authors start with problems of ethnic divisions in Kenya, while failing to substantially deal with it in the rest of the case study. In the case of South Africa, authors tend to overly focus on the labour related problems facing the African economy. But in spite of these minor shortcomings, the book manages to give a comprehensive over view of Africa's development experience. The book is optimistic about continent's economic future and thus it is a constructive contribution to the economic literature on Africa.

## News Track

### *Northern Africa*

#### Egypt

##### **Egypt's military chief sheds military fatigues to run for President**

The Egyptian Military chief and defence minister General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi declared his candidacy for the Egyptian presidential elections to be held in May this year. In order to run for the presidency, General Sisi quit his current position as the Military chief and defence minister on March 27, 2014. In his place General Sedki Sobhi has been appointed Egypt's armed forces' chief and defense minister. General Sisi is expected to win the election considering his growing popularity among the Egyptian people. General Sisi is being viewed by many Egyptians as a candidate who can provide much needed stability at time when Egypt is going through political crisis.<sup>1</sup>

### *East Africa*

#### Burundi

##### **The East African Law Society wishes ouster of Burundi from EAC**

The government of Burundi has been dragged before the East African Court of Justice by the East African Law Society (EALS) over alleged acts that breach human rights and democracy. The EALS has requested the EAC Secretary General to form a special commission to investigate such concerns in Burundi. The country's membership of the EAC should be suspended, in case the allegations are proven. Ongoing events in the Republic of Burundi are being pointed as signs that the Republic of Burundi is diverging from its commitments under Article 6(d) and 7(2) of the treaty establishing the East African Community. The treaty expects signatories to abide by the principles of good governance, including adherence to the principles of democracy, rule of law, social justice and maintenance of universally accepted standards of human rights. The lawyers' body also requested the Secretary General to consider potential sanctions that could be imposed on the country under Articles 146 and 147 of the Treaty.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Egypt's Sisi quits army to run for president", *Al Jazeera*, March 27, 2014, at <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/03/egypt-sisi-resigns-as-defence-minister-2014326183926915155.html>

<sup>2</sup> "Law society wants Burundi suspended from EAC", *Daily News Online*, March 1, 2014, at <http://www.dailynews.co.tz/index.php/local-news/28687-burundi-risks-suspension-from-eac>

## Eritrea

### **Eritrea dismisses reports about its support to South Sudan Rebels**

The Government of Eritrea has denied reports about its support to rebels in South Sudan led by Riek Machar. Eritrean citizens living in the capital of South Sudan's Jonglei state, Bor, alleged that they are receiving threats due to Eritrean backing to the insurgency. These Eritreans face lengthy prison terms if they return home. They are considered as traitors by the government of their home country as they have fled to a neighbouring country protesting against political oppression. John Prendergast, an American human rights activist, addressed the United States Congress subcommittee on Africa in late February regarding the alleged military support and the concern raised by Eritreans in Jonglei. The Eritrean government issued a statement that the country has been falsely accused of supporting Khartoum in the battle between Sudan and South Sudan over the contested oil-rich border town of Heglig. Asmara explained that it has been wrongly accused of backing David Yau Yau, the rebel leader against the Juba government. It said that preposterous lies are being spread accusing the Government of Eritrea of supporting Machar.<sup>3</sup>

## Ethiopia

### **Ethiopia blames Eritrea for involvement in regional destabilization; Kenyan and Ethiopian heads of state call for dialogue in the South Sudan conflict; Ethiopia will receive 41 train engines from Chinese manufacturer; Largest ever gold reserve in the history of Ethiopia discovered**

The Ethiopian government has admonished Eritrea for its involvement in the South Sudan crisis. Dina Mufti, spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) of Ethiopia stressed that his government "has circumstantial evidence of Eritrea's involvement in the South Sudan crisis." He added that Eritrea's negative involvement in the region is not a new phenomenon; there is tangible evidence showing involvement of the Eritrean government in Somalia and also in other countries of the region. The Eritrean government, according to him, is participating in such conflicts secretly in order to bring about regional destabilisation.<sup>4</sup>

Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta and Ethiopian Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn have called on all parties involved in the South Sudan conflict to recommit themselves to cessation of hostilities. They further called them for a dialogue. They committed to work closely under the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) framework in support of the people of Somalia. They also resolved to continue their engagement with all parties to the conflict through the IGAD in the quest for lasting peace and stability in this Horn of Africa nation. The two leaders urged the international community to support peace initiatives in Somalia as stability in Somalia was vital for success in the fight against terrorism. They also supported proposals for a Cooperative

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<sup>3</sup> "Eritrea denies supporting South Sudan rebels", *Sudan Tribune*, March 20, 2014, at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article50354>

<sup>4</sup> "Ethiopia admonishes Eritrea over South Sudan's conflict", *The Reporter*, March 29, 2014, at <http://www.thereporterethiopia.com/index.php/news-headlines/item/1808-ethiopia-admonishes-eritrea-over-south-sudan%E2%80%99s-conflict>

Framework Agreement to establish a Joint Lake Turkana, Omo and Dawa Rivers Basins Commission that will manage their resources as per international standards.<sup>5</sup>

CNR Corporation Limited, the Chinese train manufacturer, has signed an agreement with the Ethiopian government. The company, according to the agreement, will provide 41 engines for use on the Addis Ababa light railway that is currently under construction. The engines will be specially made for use in Addis Ababa, making them sun-light resistant by using special components for their glass, rubber, paint and cables. The first batch of engines is expected to be delivered by the end of 2014. This deal will be the first use of Chinese light railway engines in Africa. The CNR Corporation Limited is one of the largest train makers in China, manufacturing a range of products, from locomotives to high-speed trains, which are widely used in the country's railway services.<sup>6</sup>

Ascom Precious Metals Mining, an Egyptian company, has discovered the largest gold reserves ever in the history of Ethiopia. The deposits have been discovered in the Benishangul Gumuz Regional State of the country. Ascom has been prospecting for gold and base metals in the Benishangul region since 2010. Two weeks ago Ascom made a presentation to senior officials of the Ministry of Mines about the new discovery. The Ascom Mining Company will conduct a feasibility study and will develop the mine to start production after one year. The Ethiopian government is ready to grant a large-scale gold mining license to Ascom. The mining ministry declined to disclose the reserve of gold ore discovered. It hinted that there had been talk of about 30 or 40 tons of gold discoveries so far, but the recent discovery is much more than that. It is to be noted that gold has become Ethiopia's major foreign currency earner next to coffee.<sup>7</sup>

## Kenya

**The men accused of aiding the Westgate Mall attackers put on trial; Security at Kenyan airport increased amid 'increased threats' and radicalisation; Nairobi accused of pure obstructionism regarding ICC case**

The four men accused of aiding the terrorist responsible for attack on Westgate Mall in Nairobi were put on trial. According to the Police four accused had sheltered the attackers in their homes in Eastleigh - a Somali neighborhood in Nairobi - and that they were in contact with the gunmen four days before the siege. The men have also been accused of staying illegally in Kenya with false documents. While the identity of the men has not been disclosed, they are ethnic Somalis. The attack on the Westgate Mall has been carried by Al-Shabab, a Somali terrorist outfit fighting for an Islamic state in Somalia. The Al-Shabab is said to have carried out the attack to retaliate

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<sup>5</sup> "Kenyatta and Desalegn call for dialogue in S. Sudan conflict", *The Star*, March 12, 2014, at <http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/article-158562/kenyatta-and-desalegn-call-dialogue-ssudan-conflict>

<sup>6</sup> "Chinese train manufacturer signs deal with Ethiopia", *Addis Standard*, March 19, 2014, at <http://addisstandard.com/chinese-train-manufacturer-signs-deal-with-ethiopia/>

<sup>7</sup> "Egyptian company taps largest gold reserve in Ethiopia", *The Reporter*, March 22, 2014, at <http://www.thereporterethiopia.com/index.php/news-headlines/item/1776-egyptian-company-taps-largest-gold-reserve-in-ethiopia>

against the presence of Kenyan troops in Somalia that has been supporting the UN-backed central government.<sup>8</sup>

Amid “increased threats of radicalisation”, the National Security Council (NSC) of Kenya ordered to boost the defences around Jomo Kenyatta International Airport (JKIA), including against a possible missile attack. The construction of an integrated security screening facility has been approved on the JKIA’s terminals. To prevent attacks from “man-operated anti-aircraft devices on low flying aircraft”, security forces’ presence will be increased at the jet fuel depot and the operations base camp also. The NSC noted an “increased prevalence of radicalisation centres”, including at one mosque in Nairobi and two in Mombasa. The Council is concerned with the impact of radicalisation on the social, economic, political and security well-being of Kenya. The al-Hijra group (Muslim Youth Centre) linked to al-Shabaab is also a cause of concern.<sup>9</sup>

It would be a disaster for the ICC if the case against President Kenyatta collapses. The repercussions for the victims of the 2007/8 violence would be more tragic. Mr. Githu Muigai, Attorney General of Kenya, appeared before the ICC in Hague to respond to the allegations of frustrating the prosecution in the case against President Uhuru Kenyatta. Nairobi has been accused by the prosecution of “pure obstructionism” in gathering evidence. But Mr. Muigai insisted that Kenya had wholly fulfilled its legal obligations. However, the prosecution remained unconvinced from explanation. In his answer for how long it would take the Attorney General to process their requests for information, Mr. Muigai refused getting involved in any kind of speculation. It is to be noted that President Kenyatta stands accused of crimes against humanity related to Kenyan post-election violence in 2007/2008.<sup>10</sup>

## Malawi

### Malawi praised for implementation of food security declaration

The South African Development Community (SADC) has appreciated Malawi for its efforts towards ensuring food security at the national and household level and implementation of the Dar-es-Salaam Declaration on Food Security. Food security within the region is one of the top priorities for SADC. The SADC considers the declaration as one of the key guiding lights for the SADC community in addressing food security within the region. Fourteen SADC member states had signed the declaration in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania on May 15, 2004 in order to attain short, medium and long term objectives in the field of agriculture and food security. One of the key aspects of the declaration was the recognition of the role of smallholder farmers in addressing food security issues at household level. SADC’s approach is that of implementing the Dar-es-Salaam Declaration

<sup>8</sup> “Westgate siege: Trial of accused starts in Kenya”, *BBC*, January 15, 2014, at [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-25743756?utm\\_source=Sailthru&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=\\*Morning%20Brief&utm\\_campaign=MB%201.15.14](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-25743756?utm_source=Sailthru&utm_medium=email&utm_term=*Morning%20Brief&utm_campaign=MB%201.15.14)

<sup>9</sup> “Kenya increases airport security in response to ‘increased threats’”, *Sabahi*, February 26, 2014, at [http://sabahionline.com/en\\_GB/articles/hoa/articles/newsbriefs/2014/02/26/newsbrief-03](http://sabahionline.com/en_GB/articles/hoa/articles/newsbriefs/2014/02/26/newsbrief-03)

<sup>10</sup> “Kenyatta in court: Victims call for justice as hope for it fades”, *Think Africa Press*, February 14, 2014, at <http://thinkafricapress.com/kenya/kenyatta-icc-hope-justice-fading-muigai-uhuru-victims>

with emphasis on smallholder farming. Malawi government is putting a lot of emphasis on small holder farming in terms of subsidising inputs as the declaration expects. The United Nations (UN) and the whole world at large is treating smallholder farming as priority and prefer supporting it as the key to address food security.<sup>11</sup>

## Mozambique

**Mozambican government and Renamo begin discussing security issues; Renamo again demands foreign mediation; 2,000 refugees from Mozambique enter Malawi; Mozambican Finance Minister terms its current public debt as sustainable**

Delegations of the Government of Mozambique and Renamo, the former rebel movement, met in Maputo to discuss defence and security issues. Unlike the previous sessions of the dialogue, this one was not publicised in advance. Jose Pacheco, the Agriculture Minister and the head of the government delegation, told that the meeting took place in a “very cordial” atmosphere. The discussion was limited to simply placing the issues on the table and the discussions could be very substantive. The government wants unconditional disarming of Renamo but Saimone Macuiana, the head of the Renamo delegation, was unwilling to speak to the journalists. The dialogue, at Renamo’s request, began with a four-point agenda proposed by the former rebels in April 2013. These four points are: electoral legislation, defence and security matters, separation of political parties and state apparatus and economic issues. Negotiations on the first point were very tough as Renamo did not move until it got most of its demands accepted. The government made these concessions against a background of Renamo military attacks, mostly in the central province of Sofala.<sup>12</sup> The dialogue, then moved on to defence and security issues, the second item on the agenda.

During the meeting for the third item on the agenda, instead of discussing anything substantive, Renamo revived its demand for foreign mediation. This came as a surprise as the government believed that the question had long been sorted out. It believed that the rebel group had eventually dropped the demand for foreign mediation between the parties and had accepted observers from within Mozambique instead. In fact, these observers were present at the meeting in February when the government made many concessions to the rebels on electoral legislation and accepted their demands for entirely politicised electoral bodies.<sup>13</sup>

After reports that gunmen of the former rebel movement Renamo have been seen in Moatize district in the western province of Tete, about 2,000 Mozambicans have taken refuge in Malawi. The Malawian officials have confirmed the exodus. Officials from the Malawian Interior Ministry and from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) have visited the border

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<sup>11</sup> “Govt commended for implementing the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Food Security”, *Malawi News Agency*, March 9, 2014, at <http://www.manaonline.gov.mw/index.php/business/item/1598-malawi-commended-for-implementing-the-dar-es-salaam-declaration-on-food-security>

<sup>12</sup> “Mozambique: Government and Renamo begin discussing security issues”, *All Africa*, February 24, 2014, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201402250416.html>

<sup>13</sup> “Renamo revives call for foreign mediation”, *All Africa*, March 6, 2014, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201403061520.html?viewall=1>

regions looking at the situation. It was reported in January that an armed Renamo group had been seen in Nkondezi locality. Although there were no reports of any attacks, the mere presence of a Renamo plus the memories of the war of destabilisation in 1980s and early 1990s frightened families enough to run across the border.<sup>14</sup>

Finance Minister Manuel Chang told the Mozambican parliament that Mozambique's total public debt stood at about US\$6.8 billion as on December 31, 2013. Of this, he said, US\$5.8 billion was as foreign debt and the domestic debt (accumulated mainly through the sale of treasury bonds) amounted to US\$994 million. The minister assured that the current levels of foreign public debt are sustainable and fall well within the tolerable limits for all debt sustainability ratios. Thus the ratio of the net present value (NPV) of the debt to the country's GDP, which should not exceed 40 per cent, was 24.8 per cent in 2010, rising to 29.6 per cent in 2013. The limit for the ratio of the debt NPV to exports is 150 per cent: this ratio was 67 per cent in 2010 and 90.9 per cent in 2013. The debt service to exports ratio was 1.7 per cent in 2010 and 3.4 per cent in 2013. This is far below the limit for this ratio, which is 20 per cent. Chang added that Mozambique is also nowhere near reaching the limit of 30 per cent for the debt service to government revenue ratio. This was 2.9 per cent in 2010 and 4.3 per cent in 2013.<sup>15</sup>

## Seychelles

### **Official launch of the Seychelles-China Day; Seychelles, an example for the best practices for regional integration**

Mr. Pierre Laporte, Seychelles' Minister for Finance, Trade and Investment, launched the first ever Seychelles-China Day officially at the Berjaya Beau Vallon Bay resort. The launch coincided with the Chinese New Year and the minister described it as a time of great significance for the union of families and friends. Over many years, Seychelles and China have enjoyed a long and lasting friendship. Seychelles established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China on June 30, 1976, only a day after the Independence of Seychelles from colonial rule. Mr. Laporte also called the people of both the countries to work together for their benefit and in order to further foster the spirit of understanding, cooperation and exchange on all diplomatic fronts.<sup>16</sup>

Seychelles was adjudged as having the best National Inter-ministerial Coordinating Committee (NIMCC) for regional integration within the region. Seychelles was invited as part of the 32nd Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (Comesa) council of ministers held in Kinshasa, the Democratic Republic of Congo, to showcase the functioning of its NIMCC for regional integration. NIMCC mainly aims for regional integration by coordinating the national level implementation of regional programmes and to monitor and report on progress arising in the implementation of those regional programmes. Seychelles is a member of the Comesa as well as

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<sup>14</sup> "Mozambique: 2,000 seek refuge in Malawi", *All Africa*, February 26, 2014, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201402261416.html>

<sup>15</sup> "Mozambican public debt is sustainable, says finance minister", *All Africa*, March 6, 2014, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201403061548.html>

<sup>16</sup> "Seychelles-China Day officially launched", *Seychelles Nation*, February 1, 2014, at <http://www.nation.sc/article.html?id=240549>



the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The two economic communities had agreed to cooperate in the development of their respective economies through regional integration. But, too often, policy directives and regulations emanating from regional integration organisations or institutions do not trickle down to the national policies and national plans of member states for implementation, limiting the effectiveness of integration. Seychelles' example of NIMCC for regional integration may help other countries too.<sup>17</sup>

## Somalia

**Only few refugees from Somalia in Kenyan camps ready to return home; Partial UN arms embargo on Somalia extended; Crisis reported in the Gedo region; Interpol issues warrant to capture two ships in Somalia**

The United Nations (UN) said that despite a push for them to do so, fewer than one in a hundred Somali refugees living in the Dadaab refugee camp, the world's largest, in northern Kenya, are interested in returning home. After the United Nations refugee agency (UNHCR) signed an agreement with the governments of both countries on November 10, 2013, about half a million Somali refugees living in Kenya are due to return home over the next three years. The number of Somali refugees in Kenya is about 1.1 million, the third largest refugee population after those who have fled Afghanistan and Syria. Among these Somali refugees, only 2500 people, or some 0.7 percent expressed interest in returning home by registering at UNHCR help desks within Dadaab.<sup>18</sup>

Amid reports that Al-Shabaab and other armed groups are able to divert arms and ammunition intended for Government forces, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) unanimously agreed for the extension of the partial weapons ban on Somalia for eight months. It urged all member states to take the necessary measures "to prevent the direct or indirect supply, sale or transfer of weapons and military equipment to designated individuals and entities, which includes Al-Shabaab." The text cites the Somalia and Eritrea Monitoring Group (SEMG) report of arms being diverted to Al-Shabaab and expresses "serious concern" that the conditions for the resolution suspending the embargo "have not been fully met." It is to be noted that, in March 2013, the UNSC had partially lifted the arms embargo for one year to boost the Government's capacity to protect areas freed from Al-Shabaab.<sup>19</sup>

Ali Mataan, Deputy Governor of the Gedo Regional Administration of the Somali Government, reported poor humanitarian conditions in Gedo region as a result of the persistent fighting that recently occurred in some territories and districts. He asked the humanitarian agencies to immediately provide and improve the emergency relief to the people suffering due to the recent

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<sup>17</sup> "Seychelles shows best practice in setting up regional framework", *Seychelles Nation*, February 27, 2014, at <http://www.nation.sc/article.html?id=240846>

<sup>18</sup> "Despite police swoops, few Somali refugees in Kenyan camp ready to return home", *Shabelle News*, March 4, 2014, at <http://shabelle.net/?p=15561>

<sup>19</sup> "UN extends arms embargo on Somalia", *UN News Centre*, March 5, 2014, at <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=47284&Cr=somali&Cr1=#.U0BP9KLM42E>

battles in the region. He also urged the evacuees who have fled from the combat to return to their homes as soon as possible and requested the Government and AMISOM forces to safeguard them.<sup>20</sup>

Arrest warrant for two ships for illegal fishing and human trafficking in the Kenyan and Somali waters was issued by the International Police body [Interpol] on January 21, 2014. Investigations have revealed that the two ships wanted by the Interpol for alleged illegal fishing and human trafficking called at the Mombasa port in February 2014. The vessels are believed to have used fake documents and having involvement in illegal fishing in Kenyan and Somali waters. According to United Nations, Somalia loses billions of dollars due to illegal fishing every year.<sup>21</sup>

## Uganda

**The 3<sup>rd</sup> EAC Forum will be hosted by Uganda; India based Hero Motocorp ponders bike manufacturing in Uganda; US, Denmark and Norway suspend aid over anti-gay law in Uganda; Uganda will withdraw its forces from South Sudan under AU's proposal; Uganda woos China and Middle East to boost tourism; US sends planes and more troops to hunt Joseph Kony; South Sudan rebels do not want Uganda at IGAD-led Peace talks**

The 3<sup>rd</sup> East African Community (EAC) Secretary General's Annual Forum for Private Sector, Civil Society and other interest groups will be hosted by Uganda in Entebbe September 12-13, 2014. "EAC: My Home, My Business" has been adopted as the theme of this year's forum by the Dialogue Committee. The aim of the forum is to provide a platform for regular dialogue between the EAC Secretary General and civil society, private sector, and other interest groups on improving the process of the EAC integration. As agreed during the 2013 forum, the East African Business Council (EABC) will take the lead role in planning and organising this year's forum in collaboration with the EAC Secretariat.<sup>22</sup>

The distributors of Hero Motorcycles in Uganda, Astarc Motors (Uganda), want to be the first firm to manufacture motorcycles in the country. However they have asked for government support in the proposed venture. The firm would prefer to go up in the value chain as it is already assembling motorcycles in Kampala. The company has the financial clout but it expects support from the government through reduction or removal of taxes on raw materials. The company presented a time-frame of three to four years and eventual employment of 1500 people. Astarc unveiled Hero Dawn in Uganda, a specially customized motorcycle brand with good mileage. Hero Motocorp, an India based company, is the world's largest single legal entity selling the largest volume of motorcycles around the world since 1985. It sells over six million motorcycles around the world per year.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> "Humanitarian crisis reported in Gedo", *Shabelle News*, March 11, 2014, at <http://shabelle.net/?p=16087>

<sup>21</sup> "Interpol orders the capture of two ships for illegal fishing and human trafficking in Somalia", *Dalsan Radio*, March 17, 2014, at <http://dalsanradio.com/articles/4666/Interpol-orders-the-capture-of-two-ships-for-illegal-fishing-and-human-trafficking-in-Somalia>

<sup>22</sup> "Uganda to host EAC Forum", *Daily News Online*, March 9, 2014, at <http://www.dailynews.co.tz/index.php/local-news/28976-uganda-to-host-eac-forum>

<sup>23</sup> "Indian firm ponders Uganda bike factory", *East African Business Week*, March 10, 2014, at <http://www.busiweek.com/index1.php?Ctp=2&pI=749&pLv=3&srI=%2068&spI=&cI=10>

United States has suspended some aid to the Ugandan health ministry because of the country's new and harsh anti-gay law. While the US reviews relations with Uganda, cooperation between the ministry's AIDS program and the US Center for Disease Control is on hold. Although it is still unclear how much aid is being suspended, at least 50 Ugandan health workers have already lost their jobs. The anti-gay law was signed by Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni in February 2014. The law provides a punishment for life in prison for those engaging in gay sex. John Kerry, the US Secretary of State, compared the law to Nazi Germany and South African apartheid. Denmark and Norway have also cut millions of dollars in aid to Uganda due to the same reason.<sup>24</sup>

In compliance with the African Union proposal for the deployment of the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crisis (ACIRC) in South Sudan, Uganda will gradually withdraw its troops from the country. The ACIRC in South Sudan will facilitate Ugandan troop's progressive withdrawal and/or redeployment. The AU Peace and Security Council is expected to meet at an appropriate time to work out modalities for the deployment of ACIRC in South Sudan before the countries that have voluntarily pledged capacity to ACIRC may provide such support.<sup>25</sup>

In a bid to boost its tourism revenue, Uganda is shifting its focus from the traditional tourism markets of Europe to China and the Middle East. The Ugandan government had foreseen the need to enter the Chinese market and bring the Chinese to Uganda in 2006. Now, in 2014, it has endeavoured to realise it. A team of Chinese volunteers, working with the state-owned Makerere University, are teaching Chinese language to interested Ugandans to speak Chinese in a bid to build their capacity for future. Chinese language will also be introduced at the tourism training institute, soon to be established in Jinja, eastern Uganda. The government is also working to facilitate connectivity by working with international airlines to start direct flights between China and Uganda. The government is also looking to improve luxury tourism to attract Middle Eastern tourists.<sup>26</sup>

To help search for warlord Joseph Kony, the United States is more than doubling its deployment of Special Operations Forces. The US has, for the first time, sent military planes to find Kony and his fighters as President Obama ordered about 150 troops and at least four CV-22 aircrafts to Uganda. The search is focused on the jungles at the borders of the Central African Republic, South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. A 5000-member African Union Regional Task Force was being supported by about 100 US Special Forces sent by President Obama in 2011. The Pentagon maintains that the US troops help with providing information and assistance, and are armed only for self-defense. The International Criminal Court wants Kony for 33 counts of war crimes and crimes against humanity.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> "U.S. suspends some aid over anti-gay law", *Voice of America*, March 13, 2014, at <http://www.voanews.com/content/us-suspends-some-aid-to-uganda-over-antigay-law/1870826.html>

<sup>25</sup> "Uganda to withdraw troops from South Sudan", *Sudan Tribune*, February 22, at <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article50038>

<sup>26</sup> "Uganda looks up to China, Middle East to boost tourism", *Forum on China-Africa Cooperation*, March 21, 2014, at <http://www.focac.org/eng/zxxx/t1139481.htm>

<sup>27</sup> "U.S sending more special forces, planes in Kony hunt", *Voice of America*, March 24, 2014, at <http://www.voanews.com/content/us-sending-more-special-forces-planes-to-uganda-in-kony-hunt/1877651.html>

South Sudanese rebels, SPLM/A- [in opposition], do not want Uganda as an observer in the peace talks. They have submitted a protest letter to the head of the IGAD-led talks, rejecting the inclusion of Uganda as an observer in the talks. They have also threatened boycotting the peace efforts if IGAD allows Kampala to be part of the ongoing peace talks in Ethiopia. The rebels blame Kampala for playing double standards and assert that Uganda cannot be both the prosecutor and the judge at the same time. However, they indicate that they still support a peaceful solution to the conflict and urge all parties to do the same.<sup>28</sup>

## Tanzania

**‘China Direct’ Desk initiative by Ecobank Tanzania; Tanzania set to expand its ambitious LNG project; No agreement over Lake Niassa; Tanzania to contribute to UN peacekeeping troops in South Sudan; East-Afritac helped Tanzania shield from financial crisis**

To facilitate swift and increased transactions involving trade between China and Tanzania, Ecobank Tanzania has launched a special desk as ‘China Direct Initiative’. While trade and investment between China and Tanzania have been growing at an exponential rate, this initiative addresses the current void in the market. The trade between the two countries hit US\$2.5 billion in 2012, while the Chinese investments in Tanzania approached US\$1 billion in 2013. Ecobank says that the ‘China Direct Initiative’ aims at providing the ‘one-stop shop’ facility across the China-Tanzania corridor which will reduce hassles and improve decision-making for businesses.<sup>29</sup>

Ophir Energy said that after the discovery of more gas than expected, Tanzania’s first planned liquefied natural gas (LNG) export terminal could be expanded. East Africa is in a race with the likes of Russia, Australia and Canada to feed an expected supply gap around the turn of the decade after huge discoveries in recent years. It is tipped to become one of the next big gas-producing regions in the world. Backed by Britain’s BG Group and Norway’s Statoil, Tanzania’s LNG export terminal is expected to start shipping gas to customers from around 2020. The final investment decision in the project is expected in 2016.<sup>30</sup>

Delegations from Malawi and Tanzania, led by the foreign ministers of the two countries, after a two day meeting in Maputo under Southern African Development Community (SADC) mediation, could reach no agreement in their dispute over the ownership of Lake Niassa. Former Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano, the head of the mediating team, admitted that the talks were deadlocked and the two sides were not ready to depart from their “rigid” positions. It was also said that the dispute concerns only the northern part of the lake, where the Malawians say the border was fixed in a treaty of 1890 between Britain and Germany. Malawi and Mozambique

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<sup>28</sup> “Rebels reject the inclusion of Uganda in the IGAD-led peace talks”, *South Sudan News Agency*, March 27, 2014, at <http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/south-sudan/top-stories>

<sup>29</sup> “Ecobank Tanzania launches ‘China Direct’ Desk”, *Daily News Online*, March 13, 2014, at <http://www.dailynews.co.tz/index.php/biz/29094-ecobank-tanzania-launches-china-desk>

<sup>30</sup> “Tanzania’s LNG project set for expansion”, *Daily News Online*, March 22, 2014, at <http://www.dailynews.co.tz/index.php/local-news/29452-tanzania-s-lng-project-set-for-expansion>

share the southern part of the lake. Although there are some Malawian islands on the Mozambican side, the border runs down the middle of the lake and there is no dispute regarding them.<sup>31</sup>

Bernard Membe, Tanzania's Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, said that Tanzania, at the request of the United Nations was keen and ready to send Tanzania People's Defense Force (TPDF) troops to South Sudan to promote peace and stability and support peace-building efforts. The impressive performance by Tanzanian troops in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2013 has encouraged the UN to request the Tanzanian Government to join the UN Peacekeeping force in South Sudan. The Tanzanian minister emphasized that his country was committed to support efforts to resolve conflicts in neighboring states. The size of the force sent would be similar to the 1283 troops sent to the Congo.<sup>32</sup>

Arusha has observed that the presence of the East African Technical Assistance Centre (Afritag) has helped Tanzania as well as other Eastern African countries to be more resilient to global financial meltdown. The East-Afritag has been assisting Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda, Eritrea, Malawi, Ethiopia and Tanzania in designing and implementing their Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and poverty-alleviation strategies. Due to the coordination offered by it, the member countries were able to pull themselves rapidly out of the financial crunch of 2008-2009 through improved monetary policies in the region.<sup>33</sup>

## Zambia

### Lusaka Mayor invites Indian investments; Zambians put pressure on government for a new constitution

Daniel Chisenga, Lusaka's Mayor, has invited the Indian private sector and multinational companies to invest in Zambia. He asked the Indian infrastructure and medium-heavy manufacturing sector to benefit from his country's favourable environment for foreign investments. He was speaking on the sidelines of the 10th Conclave on India-Africa Project Partnership (CIAP) at the Taj Palace Hotel, New Delhi, India. The CIAP was aimed to boost investment opportunities and to promote strong industrial relationships between India and Africa.<sup>34</sup>

Zambia citizens are now demanding a 'people driven' constitutional document but the government seems reluctant. Four attempts, since Zambia's independence in 1964, have been made to change the constitution by different presidents but they have achieved little so far. The current government of President Michael Sata, after winning elections in 2011, appointed a technical committee for drafting a new charter including submissions from the public. He promised the Zambians a new

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<sup>31</sup> "After two days, no agreement over Lake Niassa", *All Africa*, March 22, 2014, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201403230009.html>

<sup>32</sup> "Tanzania to dispatch peacekeeping troops in South Sudan", *Addis Standard*, March 28, 2014, at <http://addisstandard.com/tanzania-to-dispatch-peacekeeping-troops-in-south-sudan/>

<sup>33</sup> "East-Afritag helps shield Tanzania from global economy crunch", *Daily News Online*, March 31, 2014, at <http://www.dailynews.co.tz/index.php/local-news/29775-east-afritag-helps-shield-tanzania-from-global-economy-crunch>

<sup>34</sup> "Lusaka Mayor woos Indian investors", *Times of Zambia*, March 12, 2014, at <http://www.times.co.zm/?p=14077>

constitution in ninety days. But although the committee has finished its work, government seems to be reluctant with the process. Allegedly, the Zambian government is trying to shield the incumbent President Michael Sata as it is feels that the present draft-constitution may bar him from contesting for another term due to his age. Now, the Zambian civil society organisations and the political parties in opposition are planning a mass demonstration to put pressure on government to enact a new constitution.<sup>35</sup>

## *Southern Africa*

### **Botswana**

#### **Botswana breaking ties with DPRK; Botswana and India towards a Strategic partnership**

As a result of the report released by the UN human rights watchdog, accusing the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) for repeatedly violating Human Rights of its local population through acts of arbitrary arrest, detention, lack of due process, torture and ill-treatment of detainees, the Government of Botswana announced that it has decided to end its diplomatic and consular relations with the DPRK. The recently released report of the United Nations Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights confirms systematic, widespread and grave human rights violations by the authorities of DPRK, as stated by Botswana's Foreign Ministry. Prior to this, last year, the Government of Botswana withdrew from bilateral cooperation with DPRK due to "threat posed by their country to International peace and security".<sup>36</sup>

The High commissioner of Botswana to India, Dorcas Ana Kgosietsile has expressed desire in working towards a strategic partnership between her country and India. Diplomatic relations between the two countries began in 1966 with the first Botswana mission in 2006, following frequent bilateral visits. As stated by Kgosietsile, Botswana has been an active partner of the Pan-Africa E network, entitled to 50 slots under the Ministry of External Affairs ITEC programme which sponsors courses for foreign students in Indian institutions. Another area of cooperation that Botswana wants to work towards is with respect to diamond production. Botswana being the world's largest diamond producer, aims at seeking training in the art of cutting and polishing diamond from India which processes and exports the largest proportion of rough diamonds as per the market trends. Moreover, Kgosietsile proposed for the establishment of more Indian companies in Botswana, highlighting several advantages for these companies in her country in terms of Economic and Political stability and membership of the Southern African Customs Union (SAKU).<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> "Zambians push government to enact new constitution", *Deutsche Welle*, March 25, 2014, at <http://www.dw.de/zambians-push-government-to-enact-new-constitution/a-17519511>

<sup>36</sup> "Botswana severs ties with DPRK", *Xinhua News Agency*, February 19, 2014, at [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/africa/2014-02/19/c\\_133128261.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/africa/2014-02/19/c_133128261.htm)

<sup>37</sup> "I want to work towards strategic relationship with India: Botswana High Commissioner", *India Africa Connect*, April 28, 2014, at <http://www.indiaafricaconnect.in/index.php?param=news/558/in-conversation/116>

## Swaziland

### Warning by the U.S to Swaziland

US has given an ultimatum to Swaziland that the country should make democratic reforms by May, the neglect of which may lead to the closing of its preferential trade agreement, which could result in approx. 20,000 Swazi people losing their jobs in the textile industry. Swaziland has been given time till 15<sup>th</sup> May 2014 to make necessary changes to the laws in the kingdom that restrict political and workers' rights of its people. For long, Swaziland has been criticised for lack of democracy and the unacceptable behaviour of Swazi police engaging in acts of intimidation and fear. Furthermore, Swaziland's continued ability to export textile goods to the US without paying tariffs under the Africa Growth Opportunity Act (AGOA) has been in question, with regard to which Swaziland had been given eight years to act as per the requirements and follow the rules, as stated by the US Ambassador to Swaziland, Makila James who strongly felt that now things had to change. Some of the proposed reforms are: "full passage of amendments to the Industrial Relations Act; full passage of amendments to the Suppression of Terrorism Act (STA); full passage of amendments to the Public Order Act; full passage of amendments to sections 40 and 97 of the Industrial Relations Act relating to civil and criminal liability to union leaders during protest actions; and establishing a code of conduct for the police during public protests", as outlined by Makila James.<sup>38</sup>

## Namibia

### Namibian Government approaches Norwegians for advice on Sea Bed Mining; Namibian students given bursaries by Chinese investors; MoU signed by Botswana and Namibia

Norwegian researchers have been asked for their advice on sea bed mining in a manner so as to not hamper the sustainability of the marine ecosystem. In view of this, the Sintef Fisheries and Aquaculture has been responsible for taking up this project in partnership with the Institute of Marine Research (IMR). Mining poses a threat to the vital fish resources in the region and the sea bed is rich in natural resources with both diamonds and phosphates, which have to be taken care of.<sup>39</sup>

Swakop Uranium, 90 per cent of which is owned by Taurus Minerals Limited which in turn is owned by the China General Nuclear Power Company (CGNPC), Uranium Resources Co Ltd and the China-Africa Development Fund, have assisted 16 Namibian students with bursaries to study in various fields such as Mining Engineering and Chemistry. The developers of Swakop Uranium, who have been developing a multi-billion dollar Husab mine in Namibia, said that the bursaries given to those ambitious Namibians provide them with access to education without having to worry about the finances. In addition to this, the Swakop Uranium has been providing training opportunities for 10 graduates, which would enable them to plan their careers.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> "Swaziland: U.S. Pressure for Swazi Reforms", *allAfrica.com*, February 24, 2014 at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201402251060.html>

<sup>39</sup> "Namibia: Govt Seeks Norwegian Advice On Seabed Mining", *allAfrica.com*, March 3, 2014, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201403040326.html>

<sup>40</sup> "Chinese investor gives bursaries to Namibian students ", *Xinhua News Agency*, February 27, 2014, at [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/africa/2014-02/27/c\\_133148402.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/africa/2014-02/27/c_133148402.htm)

Botswana and Namibia are looking forward to intensifying cooperation in energy development and associated energy infrastructure. A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), negotiated over two years back, was signed in Gaborone, the capital of Botswana. With an aim to promote cooperation and facilitate political engagement for the progress of both the countries based on equality, mutual respect and their respective national policies, the agreement was signed by the Mines and Energy Minister Isak Katali and his counterpart, Kitso Mokaila. As stated by Mokaila, the MoU is important for both the countries as Namibia has been a dependable strategic partner of Botswana.<sup>41</sup>

## Western Africa

### Cote d'Ivoire

#### Côte d'Ivoire passes new mining code

Cote d'Ivoire passed a new mining code with an aim to double its gold output. It aims to produce 25 t of gold in 2015, up from the 12 t mined in 2013. The new code increases the time period for holding permits from 7 years to 10 years with a provision to extend it by 2 years. It also specified future permit areas would be reduced to 400 square kilometers from 1000 square kilometers. Crucially for investors, the code passed by parliament on March 4, 2014 did not contain a controversial tax on windfall profits proposed by former Mines Minister Adama Toungara. The new mining code is likely to diversify the economy of Cote d'Ivoire which is reliant on agriculture. While the mining sector accounts for just 1% of gross domestic product (GDP), agriculture has a share of 30% of GDP. Apart from Gold, Côte d'Ivoire is thought to have large reserves of iron-ore, nickel and bauxite.<sup>42</sup>

### Ghana

#### Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire hopeful of solving dispute; Judicial collaboration agreement signed between Ghana and Brazil

Speaking on the sidelines of the Investing in African Mining Indaba conference in Cape Town, South Africa; Alhaji Fuseini, the Minister of Lands and Natural Resources said that the boundary dispute between Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire over deep sea waters near the western coast of Ghana is likely to be resolved. Cote d'Ivoire claims certain portions of the oil fields near the western coast of Ghana. The disputed oilfield holds about two billion barrels of oil reserves and 1.2 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. Ghana Boundary Commission was set up in 2010 with the mandate to undertake negotiations to determine and demarcate the country's land boundaries and de-limit its maritime boundaries. The minister was hopeful that the dispute will be resolved by June this year.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Kuzeeko Tjitemisa, "Botswana and Namibia Sign MoU On Cooperation", *allAfrica.com*, February 24, 2014, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201402241996.html>

<sup>42</sup> "Côte d'Ivoire passes mining code, aims to double gold output", *Mining Weekly*, March 6, 2014, at <http://www.miningweekly.com/article/cte-divoire-passes-mining-code-aims-to-double-gold-output-2014-03-06>

<sup>43</sup> "Ghana/Cote d'Ivoire working to solve dispute", *Ghana Web*, February 12, 2014, at <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=300465>



Ghana and Brazil have signed a protocol of co-operation to deepen mutual knowledge and skills and consolidate and reinforce the importance of the judiciary in a democratic state. Under the protocol, the legal institutions of the two countries will establish a plan of action, including programmes, projects and co-operation activities, for their mutual benefit. The acting Chief Justice of Ghana, Mr Justice William Atuguba, and the President of the Brazilian Supreme Court, Mr Joaquim Benedito Barbosa Gomes, initialed the protocol for their respective institutions. The two institutions are to collaborate through the exchange of experiences and documents, including bibliographic materials, studies, assessment and other statistics that might be of interest to the parties.<sup>44</sup>

## Liberia

### **China and Liberia sign Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement; Liberian heads Armed Forces first time since civil war; China-Union makes its first shipment since acquiring Bong Mines**

Few weeks after the appointment of new Chinese Ambassador to Liberia, H.E. Zhang Yue, Peoples Republic of China and Liberia have signed Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement. According to the Foreign Ministry of Liberia, the agreement provides Liberia with US \$ 13.5 million assistance. The assistance will be spent to cover the expenses of projects that are to be agreed between China and Liberia. The Chinese Ambassador emphasized that the agreement along with the stipulated technical equipment to Defence Ministry is a positive development in Liberia-China relations.<sup>45</sup>

Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Dee Ziankan was confirmed as the new chief of staff of the armed forces of Liberia by President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf on February 11, 2014. First time after the end of civil war a Liberian is heading the Armed Forces. Following more than a decade of civil war the Liberian Army was disbanded in 2003. Since August 2003 United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) is in-charge of the security in Liberia, but gradually since 2007 it has drawn down forces and passed on more responsibility to Liberian security forces. Until now a Nigerian was heading the Liberian Armed Forces.<sup>46</sup>

After taking over the Bong Mines located 150 kilometers northeast of the capital city of Monrovia, China exported its first shipment of iron ore from the mines. A China Union Official said that the company shipped 50,000 tons of ore worth around \$1 million in royalties, \$2.5 million in tax revenue and \$3.5 million in social contributions. The company aims to ship 10 million tons by 2016. Iron ore is one of the chief resources of Liberia; however, the sector has suffered from the decade long civil war.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> "Ghana, Brazil sign judicial collaboration agreement", *Ghana Web*, March 5, 2014, at <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/regional/artikel.php?ID=302475>

<sup>45</sup> "Liberia, China Sign U.S.\$13.5 Million Agreement", *allAfrica.com*, February 28, 2014, at <http://allafrica.com/stories/201402280684.html>

<sup>46</sup> "Liberian Takes Charge of Liberia's Army", *Voice of America*, February 11, 2014, at <http://www.voanews.com/content/liberian-army-takes-charge-of-liberia-army/1849307.html>

<sup>47</sup> "China-Union makes its first shipment of iron ore from Liberia", *Reuters*, February 13, 2014, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/02/13/liberia-iron-idUSL3N0LI5MB20140213>

## Mali

### Algeria and Mali commit to fight common threats; Mali government seeks to revise its oil law; Franco-German brigade to join EU Mission in Mali

At the end of the first session of the Strategic Bilateral Committee on northern Mali held on March 3, 2014 in Algiers, Algeria and Mali agreed to pursue a “united front” in their efforts to fight common threats to their security including drug trafficking, terrorism and organized crime. The Committee met under the co-chairmanship of the Algerian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ramtane Lamamra, and the Malian Minister of National Reconciliation and development of northern regions, Cheick Oumar Diarra.<sup>48</sup>

In order to pursue economic development in the restive northern Mali, the Mali government plans to revise its oil law in order to attract new investors. The oil sector is potentially an important source of revenue for the country’s north, which lacks the south’s agricultural and mining resources and has been the scene of a series of armed uprisings over the past several decades. The Mines Minister Boubou Cisse also said that certain contracts awarded during the transition period will be reviewed and if discrepancies are found then the contract will be cancelled. The Minister said that previous government had offered some contracts in a rush without following proper procedures.<sup>49</sup>

France and Germany have deployed 4800 troops under Franco-German brigade in Mali. The troops will be engaged in training and support role. This was decided on February 19, 2014 after a security and defense meeting in Paris. The troops will be placed under European Union’s Mission in Mali, which has been operating since last February and has already trained 3000 Malian troops.<sup>50</sup>

## Niger

### French nuclear firm Areva fails to reach uranium mining deal; Annual African-led military exercise underway in Niger

The French nuclear company Areva has failed to reach an agreement with Niger on terms of renewal of its license to operate in the uranium mining sector in the country. The deadline for the agreement ended on February 28, 2014 after which it has been decided that negotiations will resume without any set deadline. The negotiations are deadlocked on the issue of the royalties Areva pays Niger for the rights to two large uranium mines, Somair and Cominak in the north of the country. The terms of the original deal struck in the early 1970s have never been made public,

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<sup>48</sup> Oudina Messaoud, “Algeria and Mali, a united front against threats to their security”, *Ennahar Online*, March 4, 2014, at <http://www.ennaharonline.com/en/news/8125.html>

<sup>49</sup> Emma Farge, “Mali seeks new investors, may scrap some oil deals”, *The Africa Report*, February 20, 2014, at <http://www.theafricareport.com/West-Africa/mali-seeks-new-investors-may-scrap-some-oil-deals.html>

<sup>50</sup> “France, Germany to send joint troops to Mali”, *Deutsche Welle*, February 19, 2014, at <http://www.dw.de/france-germany-to-send-joint-troops-to-mali/a-17442869>

but government sources say the company pays about 5.5% of its revenues in royalties. Niger wants the terms of a new mining code passed in 2006 to be implemented, which would force Areva to pay between 12% and 15% in royalties, and end a number of tax breaks on materials and equipment.<sup>51</sup>

Flintlock, the annual African-led military exercise for inter-operability in security, counter-terrorism and humanitarian aid started in Niger on February 24, 2014. There are 18 African and Western nations that are participating in the military exercise including United States, Burkina Faso, Canada, Chad, France, Germany, Mauritania, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Senegal, United Kingdom and Niger. The exercise aims to combine military capacities to promote stability in Africa.<sup>52</sup>

## Nigeria

### **Nigeria's army chief moves to North-East to coordinate military ops; IMF predicts 7.3 per cent growth rate for Nigerian economy**

According to the report in the Punch, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Defence, George Sekibo has been quoted as saying that the Nigeria's Chief of Army Staff, Lt. Gen. Kenneth Minimah, has moved to the North-East to oversee the military operations against Boko Haram insurgents in the zone. The recent military success against Boko Haram has been attributed to the fact that the Chief of Army Staff is personally overseeing the operations. There has been a public uproar over the increased rate of the massacre of innocent civilians by Boko Haram terrorists in the North-East.<sup>53</sup>

According to the predictions by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Nigerian economy is set to grow by 7.3 per cent in 2014 compared to 6.4 per cent growth in 2013. The growth will occur due to declining inflation which would be 7 per cent in 2014 down from 7.9 per cent in the previous year. The growth will be driven by spurt in non-energy sector like agriculture, trade, and services. IMF has sited that the risks to its growth projection will come from lower oil prices and production, uncertain pace of the global recovery and perennial violence in northern Nigeria.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Celeste Hicks, "Niger fails to reach uranium mining deal with French nuclear firm Areva", *The Guardian*, February 28, 2014, at <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/feb/28/niger-fails-uranium-mining-deal-french-firm-areva>

<sup>52</sup> "Exercise Flintlock underway in Niger", Defence Web, February 24, 2014, at [http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=33736:exercise-flintlock-underway-in-niger&catid=3:Civil%20Security&Itemid=113](http://www.defenceweb.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=33736:exercise-flintlock-underway-in-niger&catid=3:Civil%20Security&Itemid=113)

<sup>53</sup> "Nigeria's army chief moves to troubled North east", *PM News*, March 10, 2014, at <http://www.pmnewsnigeria.com/2014/03/10/nigerias-army-chief-moves-to-troubled-north-east/>

<sup>54</sup> "Nigeria's economy will grow by 7.3 per cent in 2014 - IMF", *Nigerian Tribune*, March 10, 2014, at <http://www.tribune.com.ng/index.php/columns/backpage/in-out/item/1038-nigeria-s-economy-will-grow-by-7-3-per-cent-in-2014-imf>

## Senegal

### President Sall visits China; Paris donor conference raises \$7.8 billion for Senegal

During the visit by Senegalese President Macky Sall to China on February 20, 2014, the President met with his counterpart President Xi Jinping. Both sides agreed to build a long-term friendly and cooperative partnership. China is willing to collaborate with Senegal in the agricultural sector by cooperation in plantation and processing and increasing imports of Senegal's agricultural products. Senegalese president said that China and Senegal should enlarge co-operation in energy, infrastructure construction, agricultural products, mineral products, communication and tourism. The discussions also took place on wider China-Africa relations.<sup>55</sup>

In a donor conference held in Paris on February 24, 2014, Senegal managed to secure pledges worth 3.729 trillion CFA francs (\$7.8 billion) much above the expected 2.97 trillion CFA francs to help finance development over the next four years. The donor conference is part of the 10-year "Emerging Senegal" development plan, aimed at doubling economic growth rates over the next decade. On the occasion, President Macky Sall said that the amount raised shows the confidence Senegal enjoys among the donors. President Sall said that 46 per cent of the amount collected will be spent on infrastructure with the initial focus being on 27 to 28 projects. The development plan is aimed to increase output from agriculture, fisheries and agro-industry, mining sector and tourism. The Senegalese government also hopes to make Senegal the logistics hub for West African market. However, in recent years it is facing competition from Ivory Coast, another francophone country that has demonstrated impressive post-war recovery.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> "China, Senegal decide to build long-term partnership ", *CCTV*, February 20, 2014, at <http://english.cntv.cn/20140220/105676.shtml>

<sup>56</sup> "Investors pledge \$7.8 billion to kick-start Senegal growth plans", *Reuters*, February 25, 2014, at <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/02/25/us-senegal-investment-idUSBREA100A020140225>

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Commentaries can range between 1,000-1,500 words (excluding footnotes) and book reviews between 600-1,000 words. Guidelines for contributors may be found at: <http://www.idsa.in/africatrends>. Submissions may be emailed to the Editor at [idsa.africatrends@gmail.com](mailto:idsa.africatrends@gmail.com).

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